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837 581 are that way. When their husbands go away they sleep with others. That is why I want to marry a Brazilian woman."

837 The conflict between the sharing that is experienced and absolutely exclusive possession, which is simply and unqualifiedly theory, is far more fundamental in Kaingáng society than it is in our own. Adultery in Kaingáng society is not a circumstance of some marriages but a condition of practically all. Yet, although husband and wife live in constant suspicion of each other's loyalty, it rarely becomes desperate. Husbands do not as a rule follow their wives about, nor wives their husbands, although if there are good grounds for suspicion a husband may beat his wife or a wife her husband. He often leaves her for days at a time even when he knows that there are enterprising men still in camp and no one to chaperon her. This attitude really saves the culture from becoming a nightmare. In a society in which everyone believes that everybody else is engaged in seducing his neighbor's wife, suspicion backed by intense jealousy would drive people to desperation. But when Waipó leaves his wife to go across the river to make manioc all she has to say to him is a laughing, "You're going over there where everyone is living in very close quarters," and with a rough caress he is gone. One evening when Chukembégn and I were coming from the manioc mill I said to him, "Now that you've left your wife alone she may sleep with someone else." "I don't care; let her," said he. There is something more than mere bravado in this statement. It expresses the typical determination not to see what is not forced on one.

582 Since hunting is the most vital occupation, it might be supposed that a good hunter would be the most desirable husband. It might be felt also that since the Kaingáng used to be perpetually at war with the Brazilians, with the Kangdjá, and with their vendetta enemies, they would place a high premium on ferocity, daring, bravery, enterprise, and intelligence and that these traits would influence a woman in the choice of a husband. Nevertheless a number of attitudes combined to render all these qualities almost completely inoperative.

224 554 Although hunting is the very basis of their economy the Kaingáng, curiously enough, do not recognize differences in hunting skill. If a man returns empty-handed from the hunt he and his wife may share their relatives' food without shame. In all the time I was among the Kaingáng I never heard an unsuccessful hunter spoken of with scorn nor saw one overcome with shame, and although she may scold him roundly, no wife ever leaves her husband for coming home without meat.

828 167 Just as they assume that all men are practically equals in hunting skill the Kaingáng assume that all men are brave. Special emphasis is laid on this trait, therefore, only in exceptional cases. This holds also for intelligence, for the Kaingáng have a strong tendency to think of wisdom

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and courage together. Today no one among them could be classed as outstanding in accordance with the fundamental feelings of Kaingáng society as it existed twenty years ago, for localization on the reservation, with its automatic suppression of feuds and raids on the Brazilians, has almost eliminated the necessity for making important decisions that call for the exercise of judgment and aggressiveness and has made considerations of ferocity and daring irrelevant. For an example of a really vital personality in Kaingáng society we must turn to the culture of twenty years ago when attacks on Brazilian settlements and pack trains raised daring and enterprise to the first importance and when dangers of surprise or the planning of a vendetta massacre enhanced the value of shrewdness, aggressiveness, ferocity, and wakefulness. Vomblé's father Kuthúgn, whom the Brazilians called Thunder Storm because he had a voice like thunder, was a dominating figure. Even the Indian agent spoke of him with profound respect, singling him out above all the others. When Vomblé sings his praises we can understand that it is not merely glorification of his own father. In one of his long feud stories Vomblé has Yatí, an old woman, say to an arrogant young man: "You think that you are men. If Kuthúgn heard what you were saying about him he would be angry. He is *waikayú*,[8] and therefore my in-laws listen to his counsel and go with him. That is why my in-laws give their women to him." Even the young man's brother reproved him for his arrogance, saying: "When I was young I used to go about with Kuthúgn and I have seen how wonderfully agile and vigorous he is. And he is exactly that way now. His relatives tell how he kills Brazilians. See his property beside him!" Kuthúgn's property was not a measure of his importance as a wealthy man but a sign that he had made many raids on the Brazilians. The equation of *waikayú* and wisdom is borne out by other remarks of Vomblé about his father: "He was a thinker. He always spoke to people when there was anger. He was like a captain. If the people did not do the right thing he always spoke to them. Therefore he killed many Brazilians."

This, then, was the ideal man: swift as lightning in the handling of his weapons and the shifting of his massive body, enterprising and daring in raids, shrewd in judgment—*waikayú*. Kuthúgn was all of fifty years old when Yatí made this judgment of him. The great warriors among the Kaingáng were not the young men but the middle-aged—the men between fifty and sixty. The *kĕlá*, the young men between fifteen and thirty-five could marry and have children, they could go on raids, and they might kill,

[8] The literal meaning of *waikayú* is "self-love." Any daring, ferocious, quarrelsome, enduring person is *waikayú*. These characteristics are directly related to a Kaingáng's opinion of himself and the good impression which he has tried to make on others, and which he dares not jeopardize.

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157 but they were never the equals in accomplishment of the men of middle age and over. So positive judgments were not made of young men. They were just *kĕlú*, who had yet to make many attacks on the Brazilians and who had yet to bathe their spoon-shaped lance blades in the blood of a vendetta enemy. We can understand now why a man's *waikayú* did not influence a young woman in the choice of a husband, for all men were assumed to be *waikayú* and only the warriors of middle age or over could be adjudged as outstanding.

682 If the absence of emphasis on hunting skill, the knowledge that relatives will always feed them, and the lack of expectation of great deeds from *kĕlú* effectually muffled all estimates of young men, the concentration of vital effort in the hands of males and the scarcity of women with a number of brothers eliminated the necessity for judging of *tĕtágn*,[9] young women. After all, what could they do? What techniques did they have that men had not? Only the increasingly unimportant techniques of textile weaving and pottery. The most important occupations, hunting and basketry, were masculine. As for brothers-in-law, they were good to have, and polygyny that did not provide them was to be avoided, but the small and scattered populations made it impossible to demand brothers-in-law as one of the conditions of marriage. Marriage among the young people was and still is, therefore, largely a matter of chance. It is the crystallizing-out of informal sexual relations, which may be due solely to their own initiative, when the couple feel that their needs will be satisfied by the relationship or when they may be instigated by some one of their relatives who sees that they are lovers and decides that they ought to live together.

593 If human beings followed our ideas of consistency the ethnologist's task
584 of investigation and understanding would be simple. If the Kaingáng were eager to marry off the daughters for whom they have such a difficult time in providing, it would be perfectly understandable. But the Kaingáng see parents as so attached to their daughters, so full of misgivings at the fate that might await them at the hands of their husbands, that they sometimes have fits of anger when they are approached by a go-between. They are sometimes pictured as clinging to a daughter so strongly that they must be asked to "let her alone." Not the parents, but some other member of the family, a brother or an uncle, is often the one who is concerned because a son or daughter is without a spouse. With certain reservations, the following conversation is typical of a dozen others that I recorded.

When Tondúin became interested in marrying off his cousin's son Vomblé, he went to the latter's father and said, "I am going to ask Kemblén

[9] *tĕ*, woman. *tágn*, fat (noun or adjective), said of animals; hence desirable; also, new or fresh, said of tracks or weapons.

VIII

Psychic Structure

●157 ONE OF THE GREAT DIFFICULTIES that any society has to face is the necessity for building up attitudes that will preserve those within its limits but will destroy its enemies. Not only must such attitudes be created and fostered; they must be properly controlled and directed, for it is equally dangerous to cherish the enemy and to destroy the friend; one must help and trust friends but suspect and undo dangerous outsiders. But a society must develop within its very borders behavior trends that will at once cherish *and* destroy, according as the behavior is directed toward the in- or toward the inimical out-group. It is not enough to develop only cherishing behavior in the in-group and to tell its members that they must hate and kill everyone outside. People do not kill because they are told[1] to kill. Such destructive aggression must have an in-group behavior analogue, the expression of which must be salutary to the in-group. An example from our own culture is that of extremely destructive individuals who like to order their friends and families around. In this case the *control* of friends is the reciprocal of *destruction* of all non-friends, like servants (who are frequently discharged) and people not particularly liked (who are snubbed or insulted). Similarly, societies that are destructive to outsiders often exercise that impulse to destruction at home, but in some socialized way.

Such an impulse in Kaingáng society was expressed in the many-sided concept of *waikayú*, self-love, which, when controlled, found its in-group expression in initiative, care for others, and staying awake all night to watch for vendetta enemies, and its out-group expression in attacks on Brazilians and on other extended families, but which when uncontrolled

[1] It seems unnecessary to argue that the men in the vast armies of modern times do not kill because they are told to but because they are driven.

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found an outlet in attacks or designs on members of the same extended family.

The Development of Waikayú

When a male is *kĕlú* he lies about caressing his hunting companions and spends his nights seeking young women. This is the period when he is childless, when he follows leaders, and when no specific judgments are made of him. But as he grows older, becomes *chôi chí*, grown old, he becomes *waikayú*. This gradual acquisition of the traditional stamp of approval is accompanied by two significant events. First, the growing man relinquishes his youthful caressing—men of forty or more rarely caress other men. Second, he acquires children of his own and need no longer satisfy himself through playing with the babies of others. After three children have been born to his wife the union is stabilized. By this time the man had taken active part in several raids on the Brazilians and might even have slaughtered some vendetta enemies. He was *waikayú;* he loved himself. Now he began to boast to his children of his capacity for beer and of his prowess in killing Brazilians.

The process of actually turning away from others physically may go quite far in some individuals. Klendó said to me, "Since I did not want *to have intercourse* I told my belly to my children."[2] It is significant that the introduction to a discussion of boasting should contain a statement regarding a reduction in sex interests.

157 831 Sexual relations, although enjoyable, are felt as obstacles to the achievement of *waikayú*, and any weakness or failure in social obligations may be ridiculed in terms of preoccupation with sex. In a story Vomblé kills Kuichó's relatives, but when Kuichó asks him where they are he replies, " 'They have forgotten all about you because they are too much taken up with copulating in the buttock-hole.'[3] They copulated so much that they forgot their father. Then Kuichó said, 'I thought so! They have been copulating so much in the buttock-hole . . . that they do not think of me.' " In similar terms Kundágn ridicules an enemy who manages to escape him: "You showed your manliness by setting women on their heads!"[4] The Kaingáng are the only primitive people known to me who made a special point of boasting to their own children, and this, too, is significant when seen against the general background of self-interest. One's children are extensions of oneself, one lives in them, and boasting to them is almost like boasting to oneself.

[2] This refers to his drinking beer.

[3] This is a Kaingáng vulgarism. The remark is readily understood as a reference to the customary Kaingáng manner of intercourse from behind.

[4] Another vulgarism. He is describing the position assumed by dogs.

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157 It was in times of great danger such as this that the two forces that are most dynamic in the integration of Kaingáng society, love of self[6] and love of others,[7] came into the foreground. The appeal to *waikayú* played its role side by side with the appeal through *ka lfélé nyá*. The accusation "You are deserting me" would always bring back the fleeing Indian, even though to his own death. During the same battle in which Tondúin and Thukúgn lost their lives Kemblén was shot in the leg. When Kuklé made as if to go Kemblén called after him, " 'Affinal relative, you are deserting me!' So he [Kuklé] came back shooting, and the enemy went away. When Kuklé's arrows became exhausted, the enemy captured Kemblén. They tried to capture Kuklé but he ran away." Kuikégn lost his life under similar circumstances. He was about to leave after having slaughtered some of the enemy, but his wife, who had been taken captive, called to him, " 'You are leaving me!' So he came back and fought with them for her sake. He thrust her behind him and shot at them for her sake. Whenever he started to go she would say, 'You are deserting me!' and he would come back and shoot at them, until at last they killed him."

888 Like all nomads the Kaingáng were handicapped by those who were too old to move about easily. Yet they carried on their backs both men and women when they could no longer walk or walked too slowly. Kanyahé was so old that he tottered along on sticks and so nearly blind that he had to be led at the end of a bow. Yet he was not deserted. Even when they once seemed to have made up their minds to leave old Waimogué to her fate they took pity on her and returned and fetched her in carrying-bands like an infant. Few of the Kaingáng lived to a ripe old age under aboriginal conditions but when they did they were cherished to the last.

157 The typically *waikayú* individual was "dangerous" to outsiders. He was vicious, quarrelsome, and even, from our point of view, brave, for he would attack the Brazilians in the face of great danger and he was a great killer of tigers, the symbol of *waikayú* in the animal world. Aggressiveness finds mild expression within the extended families in the taking of the initiative, but initiative has a rather mild range. Movements of the hunting bands are determined almost entirely by the prevalence of game tracks in the region, and when anyone returns with the news that he has seen tracks somewhere the whole camp moves in the direction of the game. If the people are so far away from the pine forest that many days' journey would be necessary in order to reach it, some individual will suggest that they go there. His suggestion, however, has particular influence only over his own brothers and sisters and his close affinal relatives. Other people may choose to listen

[6] *Waikayú.*
[7] *Ka lflé nyá.*

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to someone else. No Kaingáng has the right to take the initiative because of war exploits, hunting ability, or physical strength. Initiative springs from the same soil as *waikayú* and is its in-group expression. Many men who are murderous enough in their behavior toward "other men" and toward Brazilians, however, have never been known to take the initiative. When suggestions were made, they were the ones who just "listened and went along" with the others. It is also not without significance that the men who showed outstanding initiative were those who lived alone with their wives —who did not form part of a polyandrous or joint household.

Such a man was Kanyahé, who finally brought about the slaughter of Patklé and his male children. At one time Kanyahé had two wives, but after his early joint marriage experience with Yuvén and also with his own brother Waipó, he shared them with no one. He exercised considerable influence over his brothers, hunting companions, and in-laws. A description of the organization of an expedition against the Brazilians makes clear the extent of Kanyahé's influence in his own circle. "He said to his father, 'Father, I am going to command them to attack the Brazilians' camp site, for it is there that I am going to lie in wait for the Brazilians and kill them.' So when they [his relatives] returned from their hunting he said to them, 'Did you shoot any tapirs?' and they replied, 'Yes.' So he said: 'Shoot some more that your wives may stay by them and eat. In the meanwhile lie in wait for the Brazilians at their camp site where the roads cross, and when they stop on their way, slaughter them and take their goods. Then leave their things here and go where there are Brazilians' houses in the forest. There attack them and take their goods and we will make beer for our children['s blackening].' So Wanyekí[8] said, 'So you are saying that you are going to lie in wait for them?' 'Yes. I said I was going to lie in wait for them.' When Waipó[9] heard this he said, 'Well, then, lie in wait for them. I'll lie in wait for them with you.' Then Wanyekí said, 'Well, then, I'll lie in wait for them with him and you.' " In this way Kanyahé organized the arrangements and sentiment for the attack. The conclusion of the raid was characteristic enough—Kanyahé gave the knife he got to his half-brother Waipó, and Wanyekí received a knife from his co-husband.

But even those who "command" yield to the commands of others who happen to take the initiative, so that all aggressive personalities are at some time under the sway of others. It was remarkable to see how my informant, the blustering Vomblé, a man about fifty, yielded to the request of a crippled[10] boy of twenty-five who chanced to be interested in influencing

[8] The husband of Amendó. See p. 30. Amendó was sister to one of Kanyahé's wives.
[9] Kanyahé's half-brother. He was older than Kanyahé.
[10] He fell from a horse.

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his behavior. One day the Kaingáng were planning a big hunting trip: they had got hold of a fine tapir dog and were all going up the river to try it out. "Are you going too?" I asked Vomblé. "If they command me to go I shall go," he replied. And when the cripple appeared at my window and said that they were all going up the river, Vomblé left me and went along.

The Disruptive Aspect of Waikayú

It is characteristic of the extremely *waikayú* individual that he directs his hostility toward his own group. He becomes quarrelsome and threatening and the hate against him grows to white heat. Vomblé sat for days with the picture of Nenggachá's family in his hands, gazing at it through half-shut eyes, while curious yelps grew and died in his throat. Nenggachá must have been long dead, but his offspring had been localized on a reservation in Palmas, and the agent, whom they later murdered, had sent their picture to the agent at Duque de Caxias. Although Vomblé was a baby when Nenggachá finally escaped, his memory was still vivid among the Kaingáng, for Nenggachá was *waikayú* to the extreme. He was "dangerous," he was "very *waikayú*," he was "no good," he was everything hateful. And as Vomblé regarded his picture he would say to it: "You were very *waikayú;* you wanted to kill me. No-good Nenggachá." The picture had an overwhelming fascination for him—it was the only thing he ever tried to help himself to in my house.

Nenggachá is famous in recent Kaingáng history—it is only of him that deeds of violence within the extended family are told, and the stories about him give considerable insight into his personality.

Nenggachá was one of Amendó's lovers, and like every lover he thought himself suspected by his mistress's husband. But to think a thing like this is, to the Kaingáng, the same as knowing it, and he projected into the mind of her husband Wanyekí the knowledge of his adultery and anger against himself. But anger against himself meant a threat to himself. Thus Nenggachá felt himself threatened, and he spoke angrily to the husband. Then the husband became angry with his mouth.[11] His co-husband was sitting next to him and he arose and danced. He jabbed Nenggachá with his club and he fell. Nenggachá's father Wanenggló came over and was about to strike the co-husband whose club was also raised when Wanenggló's brother-in-law seized the co-husband's club; so Wanenggló struck the co-husband and he fell. In this quarrel two families were pitted against each other, the family of Wanenggló and the family of Wanyekí, and at last Nenggachá ran off to his own camp, leaving his father beaten and bleeding on the field. When the two met again Wanenggló became angry with his

[11] He only spoke angrily—he did not strike a blow.

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deserting son and said: "'That is your practice! Even when they do not drink beer they become jealous of you and beat you. Then something[12] spoke up for you and they beat him, and when you saw him beaten you ran away.' When Wanenggló and Nenggachá went away the others did not follow him, for Nenggachá was very *waikayú*, and he was very dangerous."

In spite of the fact that the Kaingáng agree that Nenggachá was extraordinarily dangerous, this story leaves us with the feeling that he was not nearly as formidable physically as the people around him, but that he was singled out, for some obscure and dreadful reason, to be the focus of the concentrated viciousness of the group in which he lived. Another story makes Nenggachá the center of violence, and here again it is difficult to discover why the fault lay entirely with him. During a festa everybody was drunk, and Yuvén and his co-husband Klendó were walking about. "Then Nenggachá said to Klendó, 'You are talking about me—I am angry.' 'I said nothing at all about you. What are you up to . . .?' Then Yuvén said to Klendó, 'Hit Nenggachá—I am angry at what he says.' Then Yuvén said [to Nenggachá], 'I am going to beat you,' and Nenggachá said: 'You deserted me. You said that you had been remembering me, and now you want to beat me.' Then Nenggachá became angry and sat up, struck Yuvén in the chest, jumped over the fire, and ran off, crying, 'In that way be angry with me!' Yuvén chased him and seized Nenggachá's lance and beat him over the head with the handle. Then Nenggachá ran off with Yuvén in pursuit." The affair ended in a brawl, with Nenggachá supported by his half-brothers and Yuvén by his brother-in-law. When some more of Yuvén's brothers-in-law returned from the hunt they wanted to go in pursuit of Nenggachá, but his mistress Amendó dissuaded them. "She was afraid that Thechá [another of her husbands] would fight with Nenggachá. He was going in pursuit of Nenggachá when Amendó lied. Nenggachá used to make love to Amendó, and therefore she lied. But Kopaké [Yuvén's brother-in-law] was angry with Nenggachá and [later] said this to him, 'Am I a child that you beat Yuvén and I let you all go without beating one of you?' But Nenggachá said nothing—he was probably afraid."

When the extended family of Kanyahé, of which Nenggachá was a member, later encountered that of Patklé, Nenggachá married two of Patklé's daughters and joined forces with him. When Patklé was killed by Kanyahé the only things that saved Nenggachá were his link with his old mistress Amendó and the fact that he had married a half-sister of Kanyahé. When she died he again feared for his life and fled, never to be heard of more.

[12] Meaning himself, Wanenggló.

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157 In general, the Kaingáng feeling about *waiḳayú* individuals is that they are quarrelsome, vicious, and brave, but it does not appear from the preceding examples that Nenggachá possessed these qualities to a conspicuous degree. Indeed, what seems to be his most striking characteristic is his developed capacity for projection, which tends to get out of hand and find expression in threatening demeanor. In other words the cause of Nenggachá's antisocial behavior is an outlook in which the men around him are seen as living reproaches, perpetually storing up resentments against him. In this society, whose very vitals are torn by projected anxiety it is extremely difficult to prove that one individual has developed this characteristic more than any other individual. Nenggachá happened to be singled out as dangerous above all the others, and the beatings which he suffered were provoked by his anxiety rages. His extraordinary capacity for projection is what made him unbearable. Nenggachá is simply an exacerbated case of failure to project all resentment and guilt outside—against other extended families.

The feeling of being arrayed against the massed forces of destruction is hypostatized in *lų*, the concept of doom. "I shall go dancing to meet my *lų*" { *éng lų ḳótó ngglá tálé* / my doom meet dance go }, is the striking phrase that appears in the origin myths. The Kaingáng say: "They are referring to death, and they say that something is killing them. That is what they call, 'I am going dancing to meet my *lų*.' When they first came out into the world they said in their strange language, 'I am going to meet my *lų* dancing.' They refer to their death as *lų*. My *lų* kills me and I die. When they are killed and they die they say, 'My *lų* killed me.' When a person goes to meet the approaching enemy—they are about to be killed. This is what they call my *lų*. 'Your *lų* is looking at you.'"

Thus the ultimate expression of the Kaingáng feeling of insecurity is *lų*, doom, the threatening world. The following diagram may make the Kaingáng psychic structure clearer:

MYSELF AND THE OTHER MEMBERS OF MY EXTENDED FAMILY[18]

What I think	*What I think they think*
1) My body is my fortress	
2) I live in them (*ḳa lḛ́lḛ́ nya*)	3) We live in you
4) But I desert you and meddle with your wives	5) You have deserted us and have been meddling with our wives
6) so I feel guilt (*yókthḛ́*)	7) so we are angry with you
8) If you are angry with me I'll be angry with you too.	

[18] Read in numerical order. The language is my own.

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MYSELF AND THE WORLD OUTSIDE OF ME (i.e. OTHER EXTENDED FAMILIES AND THE REST OF THE NATURAL WORLD) [13] 157

My body

1) My body and those of my close relatives give security
3) My body is in constant danger of destruction
5) Contemplation I feel guilt

Outside of My Body

2) Everything outside threatens. This is my *lų*, my doom
4) and I must take action against the threat
6) Feeling guilt I project: "The other person fears me because he knows what is in my mind."
7) He fears me and therefore wishes to destroy me. This is my *lų*.
8) I must take action to prevent it.
9) I take action and feel guilt.

and I am so ridden by a sense of guilt that my very formulation of the customs of my tribe is expressed by *yõkthẽ*, guilt. When Klendó first came to me as an informant he wished to assure me that he would tell me everything faithfully, and so he said, "I shall tell you all about our *yõkthẽ*," meaning that he was going to tell me all about their customs. But *yõkthẽ* is used constantly to mean not only a person's habitual behavior but also his fault and guilt. A condition necessary to a healthy mind is that once it has embarked on a course it follow it through without remorse. It matters not how foul such a course may be, it is only necessary that the mind that has chosen it have no misgivings regarding its rectitude. Far from being content with the destruction they accomplished from time to time on members of enemy families, the Kaingáng were oppressed by a sense of guilt that often created conflicts within the ranks of the victorious extended families themselves. It was no abstract sense of inherent wrong in killing that gave rise to this feeling of guilt. The multitudinous cross-cuttings of relationship ties made almost any slaughter the source of guilt, for in all massacres some relatives had to be destroyed. The annihilation of Patklé and his offspring produced such strong feelings of guilt in Kanyahé and his offspring that a general quarrel ensued. The day after the slaughter Kanyahé's offspring went in pursuit of a man who had escaped. "Then Kanyahé became angry and said to Kuthúgn[14] and the other men,[14] 'Let him die alone.[15] You killed my in-laws; so stop your slaughter.' Then Kuthúgn[14] said, 'It was you yourself who ordered me to kill them, your in-laws, and I killed them; and now you're angry with me!' Then Kanyahé

[13] Read in numerical order. The language is my own.
[14] Kanyahé's offspring.
[15] The Kaingáng way of saying, "Don't kill him; let him die from other causes."

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157 kept quiet. The men[14] were angry with Kanyahé." Soon after the fight Kuthúgn and Kanyahé quarreled over the pot of one of the dead men, and Kuthúgn burst out: "Those things[16] used to shoot animals for you, and then you told me to kill them, and when I did so you became angry. Let the pot be!"

Some of the men of Kanyahé's group had been loath to kill Yuplú, one of Patklé's sons, and this too was a source of ill feeling among the offspring of Kanyahé: "Kuthúgn went to invite them after Kanyahé ordered the slaughter. Now Kuthúgn [and several of the others] wanted to live with Patklé and his offspring, but Kanyahé ordered the slaughter, so that Kanyahé became angry with them and they became angry with Kanyahé. They were angry with Kanyahé because of the death of Yuplú. Kuthúgn said: 'Yuplú had seen me and came to look for me, and he talked nicely to me. He shot animals for me, and so I pitied him, but you told me to kill him; so because I thought that he would kill me if he knew about it, I did it to him. But you are angry with me!' Then Kanyahé became silent." Kanyahé's guilt-feeling found expression in anger against the members of his own extended family, and they relieved theirs by protesting that they had been asked to commit murder. There are a number of instances of this kind, all given in considerable conversational detail, but there is one that is so striking for its barrenness of such detail that it is worth describing. The entire situation was characterized by such extreme behavior and the men were killed in such cold blood and with so little provocation that it cannot but be significant that both my informants overlooked the murders in the description of the feuds and mentioned them only in passing. It was only through prying that I was able to obtain the descriptions that follow.

When the offspring of Vomblé[17] raided the camp of Kumbló and killed a number of women and children they also captured some boys. Long after, when these boys had grown to manhood and had hunted and raided with the grandchildren of Vomblé, one of Vomblé's grandsons was killed by a member of Kumbló's group who made good his escape. "Then the dead man's widow said to Kuthúgn[18]: 'Kill Kuvén and Wanyekí.[19] Their *nyungnyén*[20] [relative] killed him. When they see this they may go away. Kill them.' The murderer had no relatives, but Kuvén and Wanyekí had

[14] Kanyahé's offspring.

[16] The dead men.

[17] This Vomblé was one of the male ancestors of the victorious extended family in the feud described in Chapter V.

[18] A grandson of Vomblé.

[19] Two of the captives, now grown to manhood.

[20] For the exact meaning of this term see p. 177, Appendix II.

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wandered around with him; so she called them his *nyungnyén*. So Kuthúgn and his brother-in-law Kiyitá went hunting with Kuvén. They went a long way but saw no tapir. Nightfall. Kuthúgn came along behind Kuvén and hit him with an axe and he fell. Then Kuthúgn said to his brother-in-law, 'Hit him!' So Kiyitá hit him." Wanyekí was killed in the same manner. Two other relatives of the widow went hunting with Wanyekí; one went in front of him and the other came along behind. One of them seized the victim and sat down on him, calling to the other, "'Come here!' And he hit Wanyekí with an axe and killed him. Then they returned to camp."

Later the death of Monyá, another of the captives, was ordered, but "Kuthúgn heard and said: 'Don't! I killed one; so let him [Monyá] alone. He's alone; so let him be!' So they let him alone. 'I did not see the one who killed her husband; so I became angry and killed a substitute.[21] So let the other one [Monyá] alone and live with him. Let him shoot animals for you. Go with him to the Brazilians who killed your *nyǫ*[22] and let him kill some of them out of revenge for her.' That is what he said." And Monyá lived with them at the post until he died of influenza.

None of the murderers of Kuvén and Wanyekí would perform the act alone but insisted on collaboration. This insistence that someone else complete a murder is quite common in Kaingáng killings. In some cultures such an unwillingness to bear the full responsibility is associated with fear of punishment, but in Kaingáng society, where the entire group is always held responsible the aversion to committing the deed alone implies a feeling of guilt. The case in question is particularly significant in view of Kuthúgn's anxious protection of Monyá.

It is not enough that the Kaingáng should feel guilty about the people they have killed, but they must feel guilt because their own relatives have been killed by others. They sometimes feel that their relatives have died because they were not there to protect them. Kuthúgn and Koví went hunting together and separated, and when Kuthúgn returned he found Koví dead, for while Kuthúgn was away Koví was overwhelmed by vendetta enemies and killed. "Kuthúgn saw the place where Koví was killed and waited there all night for the enemy. Next day he met one of his relatives and asked him, 'Well, what happened?' 'The enemy killed him.' Then Kuthúgn became angry because of Koví [and said]: 'Now! I said to him, "Stay here," but he went just as I did and the things killed him.'" What had actually happened was that Kuthúgn had told Koví to cut out a beehive and had gone on, leaving Koví alone. The sense of guilt that op-

[21] The wording of the original has been slightly altered here for the sake of clarity.

[22] Any woman very much older than a person. See p. 177, Appendix II. In this instance, however, he is referring to a particular woman who had been killed recently by the Brazilians.

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157 presses the Kaingáng is sometimes, as in the quarrel of Kanyahé and his offspring, absorbed into the extended families and digested in undercurrents of resentment, but in other cases, such as that of Kuthúgn, it finds expression in outbursts of anger which are rooted in a sense of personal guilt.